



A Volume of Mughal Drawings and Miniatures

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A VOLUME OF MUGHAL DRAWINGS AND MINIATURES

By Otto Kurz

The volume with Mughal drawings and miniatures which is the subject of this article, has been sailing under a false flag for over a century. That a student of Oriental art should confuse Indian and Chinese paintings seems hardly possible; but this is exactly what has happened in our case.

In 1856 Félix Feuillet de Conches published a pamphlet with some valuable notes on European painters who worked in China.¹ In it he mentioned some miniatures he had seen in Rome:

Les plus magnifiques miniatures chinoises que nous ayons vues sont à la bibliothèque du palais Barberini, à Rome. Ce sont quinze ou vingt portraits en pied, représentant la famille impériale de la Chine, depuis l'empereur jusqu'au plus jeune des enfants. La tradition du palais Barberini est que ce manuscrit a été envoyé au pape Urbain VIII (1623–1644) par l'empereur lui-même, ce qui veut dire sans doute qu'il a été un hommage des missionnaires européens au souverain pontife. Quoi qu'il en soit, les figures qui, à l'exception d'une seule, sont en couleur, offrent une telle perfection de modelé, de couleur et de composition, une telle énergie d'individualité qu'il y a peu d'œuvres de nos Occidentaux de force à leur être comparées. L'une des dernières, presque entièrement à la mine de plomb, à peine effleurée de quelques teintes de couleur, représente une jeune fille, le corps entouré plusieurs fois d'une étoffe légère qui laisse discrètement transparaître les formes, comme dans les figures égyptiennes. L'enfant tient une fleur à la main. Il n'y a nulle exagération à dire que cette miniature, grande à force de simplicité et de science qui se cache, respire le sentiment des plus délicieuses peintures du Pérugin.

This extraordinary combination of confusion and genuine enthusiasm dating from 'pre-Raphaelite' times when a comparison with Pietro Perugino was considered the highest praise,² would have been forgotten long ago if two eminent sinologists had not thought it advisable to draw the attention of their fellow scholars to this somewhat hidden reference. In 1910 Berthold Laufer in his study of Christian art in China translated the paragraph in question in order to rescue it from oblivion,³ and eleven years later Paul Pelliot quoted it again, this time of course in the original, in order to draw attention to a group of works of art, 'sur lesquelles on aimerait à avoir des informations plus précises'.⁴ Pelliot pointed out how extremely unlikely it

¹ Félix Feuillet de Conches, *Les peintres européens en Chine et les peintres chinois*, Paris 1856 (Extrait de la *Revue contemporaine*, xxv). Reprinted in the same author's *Causeries d'un curieux*, 2, 1862, p. 79.

² The name of Raphael's teacher Perugino soon became the symbol of a pre-classical or non-classical style in its own right, and could thus be applied to Oriental art. Already in 1837 an English writer had referred to the

painters of Hindu miniatures as 'these Persian Peruginos' (the passage is quoted in full in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1965, p. 90).

³ B. Laufer, 'Christian art in China', reprint from *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, xiii, 1910 (and photographic reprint Peking 1917), p. 116.

⁴ P. Pelliot, 'Les "Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine"', *T'oung Pao*, xx, 1921, p. 188.

was that the last emperor of the Ming dynasty Ch'ung-chen should have sent portrait paintings to the Pope;⁵ he was also puzzled by the mention of a lead-pencil which was never used in China, and asked himself whether these miniatures were not after all the work of some later European missionary.

Neither Laufer nor Pelliot tried to follow up the reference, and both were apparently unaware that the famous Barberini Library had ceased to exist in 1902 when it was incorporated into the Vatican Library. In 1922, one year after he had quoted the passage from Feuillet de Conches, Pelliot went to Rome and catalogued the Chinese books and manuscripts of the Vatican Library. Now the opportunity seemed to have come to clear up an old error, but alas, the volume in question had disappeared and Pelliot's entry for Barb. Or. 136 consisted of the single word '*Manque*'.

Since then the missing volume has come to the surface again. A recent note in the inventory describes it correctly, but rather laconically, as *Dessins et miniatures*; a somewhat more detailed account of it may therefore not come amiss. It is a slim volume in a much repaired lacquer binding with floral patterns of Indo-Persian style. The binding itself is of European workmanship, but the binder reused the two Oriental covers which may well have been the original ones. A title-page in an eighteenth-century hand claims the contents to be Chinese

Raccolta
Di Disegni e Miniature Chinesi.
I disegni sono dieci, le miniature quindici.
VII.80.

and is responsible for all the later confusion. In the nineteenth century somebody better informed corrected the misleading statement on a piece of paper which he stuck into the album: 'Disegni e miniature indiane (del periodo dell'impero del gran Mogol) (le iscrizioni del foglio 15 sono in lingua persiana),' and added, in a different ink, the dates of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.⁶

It should be said at once that our volume is not one of those sumptuous albums (*muraqqa'*) which Oriental collectors loved to assemble; it is an unpretentious scrapbook put together by a European. The first three leaves contain ten numbered drawings; these are followed by miniatures which are numbered from 1 to 15. Both sets of numbers were evidently written by the same hand. Between the two sets, and without a number, a Flemish brush drawing from the early seventeenth century has been inserted, a group of three pheasants in a landscape. It bears no relation to the other contents of the volume and is obviously a later addition.⁷

⁵ After the fall of the Ming Dynasty the Dowager Empress became a convert to Christianity under the name of Helena. A letter she wrote to Pope Innocent VIII in 1650 is still preserved in the Vatican Archives (L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiv, 1929, p. 150; A. Haidacher, *Geschichte der Päpste in Bildern. Eine Dokumentation zur Papstgeschichte von Pastor*, 1965, p. 607). A vague recollection of her conversion and letter may have been the

origin of the legend of the Barberini Album.

⁶ Nothing seems to be known about the early history of the album. An old inventory of the Barberini collection '*Index manusciporum variarum linguarum orientalium*' (Barb. Or. 130) lists 108 items, but not the volume with Mughal miniatures.

⁷ As the drawing has been stuck to its mount only the end of the signature is visible: '... ricius pinxit'.

The contents of the album can be summarized as follows:

Drawings:

1. Portrait sketch of Abbas I (Pl. 31a)
- 2- 3. Two portrait sketches of courtiers (Pl. 29b)
- 4-10. Seven small portrait sketches (Pl. 30c)
- (no number). Pheasants (European)

Miniatures:

- 1- 6. Unfinished portraits (Pl. 30b)
- 7-10. Unfinished portraits.
11. Shah Abbas I
12. Shah Abbas I (Pl. 31b)
13. Female portrait (Pl. 29c)
14. Shah Jahan and his sons. Unfinished (Pl. 29a)
15. Jahangir and his sons and grandsons (Pl. 28a)

The Two Genealogical Trees

The miniature which Feuillet de Conches admired so much turns out to be a genealogical tree of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-27) and his sons and grandsons (Pl. 28a). On a patterned background of animals, birds, plants and a few clouds, all delicately painted in gold in a style which is familiar to us from the picture albums from the library of Jahangir,⁸ we see thirteen portraits in round medallions, all masterpieces of the art of miniature painting of an incredible perfection on a minute scale.⁹

Persian inscriptions identify all but two of the portraits. At the back of the leaf we find Italian translations of these inscriptions. The translator has added a few words of his own in which he refers to Jahangir as the 'late king' ('Ritratto del re morto Gran Mogor e de figlioli con esplicatione de scriti') and to Shah Jahan as the then reigning monarch ('Questo è il re che vive hoggi'). His notes must therefore have been written at some time between 1628 and 1659. Occasionally he has taken the trouble to give side by side a transcription, a word by word translation, and finally a free version.¹⁰ This apparent philological exactitude is, however, deceptive as he sometimes misunderstood the inscriptions.¹¹

In the centre appears Jahangir himself (b. 1569, emperor 1605, d. 1627)

⁸ H. Goetz, 'The early muraqqa's of the Mughal emperor Jahangir', *East and West*, viii, 1957, pp. 157-85.

⁹ The size of the miniature is 130 x 226 mm.

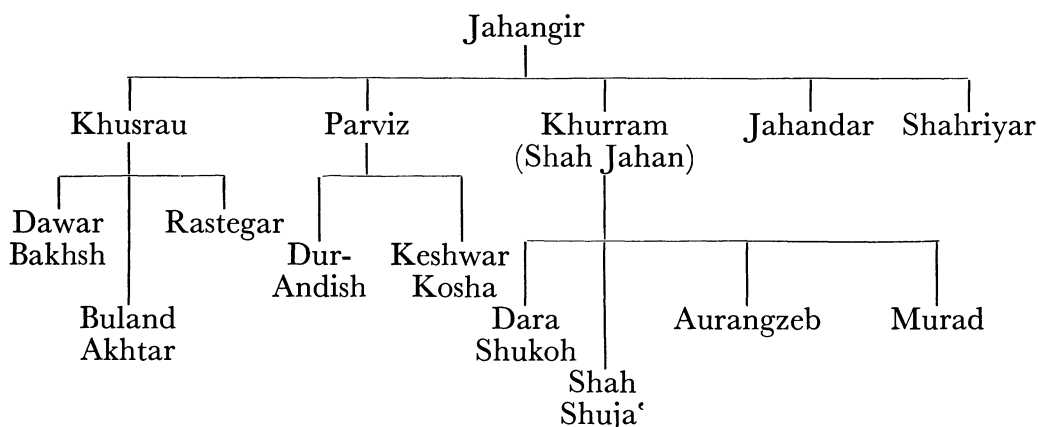
¹⁰ Thus the two inscriptions on top of the miniature are rendered as (right) 'Padscia surat magnist az ataf Ala. Re imagine e de simiglianza Dio. Imagine del re è a simiglianza d'Iddio' and the one to the left as 'Scia, nur aldin Gianghir ebn Achebar padsciar. Re, resplendore della legge Gianghir figliolo d'Achebar re. Figliolo del re Achebar'. A Mughal miniature in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, shows the vizier Itimad ad-Daula in the act of present-

ing to Jahangir a tablet with exactly the same inscription (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., xiv, 1955-56, p. 96). The only difference is an additional first line on the miniature in New York consisting of the formula *Allah Akbar*. 'The letters of Jahangir and Allahu Akbar are equal in value from the beginning of time', as the legend on a coin of Jahangir says (C. G. Brown, *Catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow*, i, 1920, p. 19).

¹¹ I profited here greatly from the help and expert advice of Professor Paul Wittek and Dr. T. O. Gandjei.

with the halo, 'which from this time invariably distinguishes the ruling monarch of the dynasty'.¹² He is shown sitting on a throne, holding a falcon on his gloved right hand.¹³ His dress shows a geometrical pattern with stars in hexagons.¹⁴ 'He also weareth', reports a European traveller, 'a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emeralds, and ballace Rubies. Hee hath another Jewell, that cometh round about his Turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies.'¹⁵ The fashion of wearing long strings of pearls was eagerly taken up by the members of the Imperial family as can be seen from the portraits of Jahangir's sons and grandsons on our miniature. In his sash the emperor wears a dagger with a golden jewel-studded sheath and a hilt, also of gold, shaped as a lion head.¹⁶

The emperor's portrait is surrounded by five comparatively large medallions with the figures of his five sons, while small roundels were thought adequate for the grandchildren. The overlay to Pl. 28a and the following scheme will help to clarify their relationship:



(Shah Jahan had eight sons—they appear in Pl. 29a—but only four reached mature age.)

Immediately below Jahangir appears (2) his first son Khusrau (b. 1587, d. 1622). The Italian annotator has added the words 'Cieco. Primo figlio' to his rendering of the inscription. While the portraits of the other sons are marvels of minute execution, Khusrau's face looks empty and lacks all details. If we look closely, we see at once that the head was not left unfinished, but has

¹² Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, 1924, pp. 84, 173.

¹³ On portraits of Jahangir with a falcon see the remarks by Basil Gray in A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England*, ii, 1955, p. 180.

¹⁴ Jahangir appears in a dress with a very similar, but not quite identical pattern on the durbar scene in the Victoria and Albert Museum (reproduced *Revue des arts asiatiques*, vi, 1929-30, pl. liv, and in colour in *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, vi, 1931, pl. facing p. 420).

¹⁵ Quoted from Hawkins (*Purchas* iii, 42)

in A. Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals*, 1942, p. 161.

¹⁶ The Maharaja of Jaipur Museum at Jaipur possesses a dagger of identical shape, but with the lion head of walrus ivory instead of gold (reproduced in S. C. Welch, *The art of Mughal India*, 1963, pl. 67). Jahangir tells in his Memoirs how proud he was to possess such dagger-hilts made of a material as precious as walrus ivory (B. Laufer, *Ivory in China*, 1925, p. 49).

been wilfully damaged or rather rubbed off with the finger. The biography of the unfortunate prince explains the reason for this *damnatio memoriae*.

Khusrau, Jahangir's first-born son, was the favourite of his grandfather Akbar. A rebellious spirit, he was already in revolt a few months after his father's accession to the throne, and again some years later. Khusrau was captured and imprisoned. In his Memoirs Jahangir writes:¹⁷

I summoned Khusrau to my presence, and ordered the chains to be put off from his legs, and that he should be allowed to walk in the garden of Shar-ara, for my paternal affection had not so far departed as to induce me to deprive him of this indulgence . . . Although Khusrau had been repeatedly guilty of improper actions, and was deserving of a thousand punishments, yet paternal affection did not allow me to take his life.

His life was spared, but as a punishment he was blinded. The note 'blind (*cieco*)' refers to this tragic event, which is told in all its grim details by a contemporary chronicler:¹⁸

His Majesty ordered Prince Khusrau to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put into his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakim Sadra by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to his Majesty, who showed the physician great favour.

It is not difficult to guess whose finger destroyed in a fit of rage the portrait of Prince Khusrau.

The name of his eldest son appears for the last time in Jahangir's Memoirs under the year 1622:¹⁹ 'A letter from Khurram informed me that Khusrau had died of colic.' Soon, however, it became known that Khusrau had been murdered by the writer of this letter, his younger brother and rival for the throne, the future emperor Shah Jahan.²⁰

Next to Khusrau appear his three sons, a small boy and two babies. The little boy to the left (7) is Dawar Bakhsh (Mirza Bulaqi).²¹ His day of glory came in October 1627 when, after the death of his grandfather, he was proclaimed Emperor. He even struck silver rupees but obviously only in very

¹⁷ Sir H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, 1959, Jahangir, p. 70.

¹⁸ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, p. 209. On the different and diverging reports about the blinding see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, 2nd ed., 1930, p. 165.

¹⁹ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, p. 141.

²⁰ Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, pp. 330f. Banarsi

Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, 1932, p. 35. Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma, *A contemporary Dutch chronicle of Mughal India*, 1957, pp. 53f.

²¹ The Italian translator misread the name and added an explanation of the title: 'Daurbes Mirzá. Mirzá è l'istesso che nobile, ovvero fidalgo.'

small quantities as these coins are now extremely rare.²² His triumph was of very short duration as the proclamation was only a ruse to gain time. In the words of the chronicler 'Asaf Khan had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shah Jahan, and Dawar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb'.²³ A few weeks later, on 23 January 1628, the 'lamb' was slaughtered when the new emperor Shah Jahan had all possible pretenders to the throne murdered.

The two delightful portraits of babies who are still unable to sit upright, represent (8) Buland Akhtar²⁴ and (9) his brother 'Rastegar Mirza'. As nothing further is known about the latter he died presumably in early childhood.²⁵

Jahangir's second son Parviz (1589-1626) appears to the left of his father (3), his hands folded. He remained always loyal to his father, but died suddenly in 1626 during a period of general unrest of an illness caused, according to a contemporary report, by 'excessive drinking'.²⁶ No wonder that rumours attributed his death to the machinations of his brother Shah Jahan.²⁷

Of the two sons of Parviz the older (10) is Dur-andish ('Durandesc Mirza'). His birth is mentioned in Jahangir's *Memoirs* (i, 279): 'on Sunday the 11th of the month Bahman (of the year A.H. 1023 = 31 January 1615) in the city of Burhanpur, God Almighty had bestowed on Sultan Parviz a son by the daughter of Prince Murad. I gave him the name of Sultan Dur-andish.'²⁸ The name of his younger brother (11), a richly dressed baby propped up against a cushion, is given as Keshwar Kosha Mirza (the Italian inscription is not legible).

Jahangir's third son and successor (b. 1592) appears in the medallion to the right (4). He is Sultan Khurram, later called Shah Jahan, the name under which he became famous as emperor (1628-59).²⁹ Shah Jahan appears here as a young man, the very image of his father whom he tried to imitate in his personal appearance, quite different from the portraits which show him after his accession to the throne as a dignified, bearded man.³⁰

²² S. Lane-Poole, *The coins of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, 1892, p. 103.

²³ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, Jahangir pp. 196, 198; Shah Jahan, pp. 5f., 141.

²⁴ Jahangir in his *Memoirs* records his birth on 11 March 1609 (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 1909, p. 153). Stchoukine says that he was executed together with his brothers in 1628 but does not name his source (*Revue des arts asiatiques*, ix, 1935, p. 195). I do not know of any evidence for it. Buland's name does not appear among the princes of royal blood who were murdered at the time of Shah Jahan's accession to the throne (Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, Jahangir, p. 198, where of Khusrâu's sons only Dawar and Garshap appear among the victims). For a different explanation see below, note 47.

²⁵ Jahangir says in his *Memoirs* that in the eleventh year of his reign (1616) on the 21st

Faewadin (10 April) a son was born to Khusrâu, but does not mention his name (*Tuzuk*, p. 321). This was probably Khusrâu's fourth son Garshap (d. 1628) who appears on the genealogical tree in the Rothschild collection (see below, p. 259).

²⁶ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, Jahangir, pp. 189, 192. H. Goetz, *Geschichte Indiens*, 1962, p. 164.

²⁷ Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 418.

²⁸ Jahangir mentions in the fourteenth year of his reign (1619) that 'the bad news arrived that the eldest son of Shah Parviz had died at Agra' (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 110).

²⁹ The absent-minded Italian annotator wrote at the back 'Scia zada Soltan Corron. Re nato Soltan Corron. Soltan Parvez (!) figlio del re', followed by the remark quoted above that he was the present ruler.

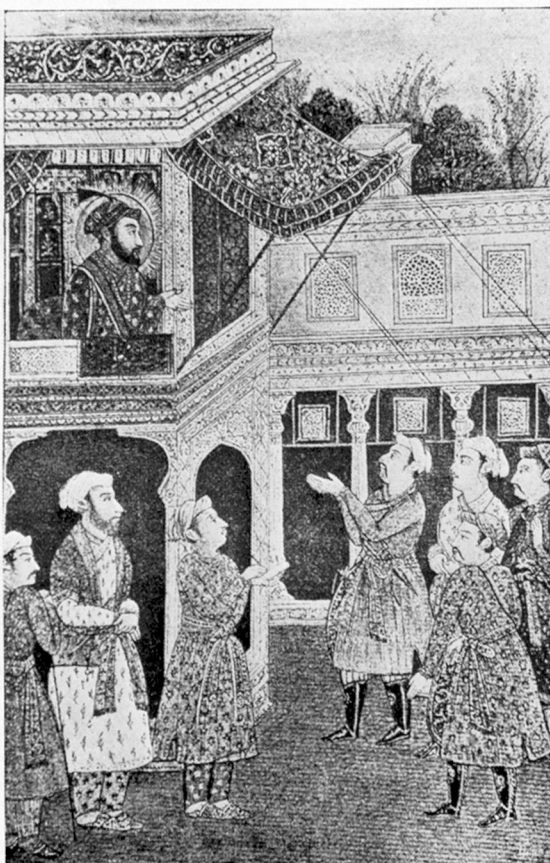
³⁰ Shah Jahan appears already bearded as crown prince in the (unfinished) miniature



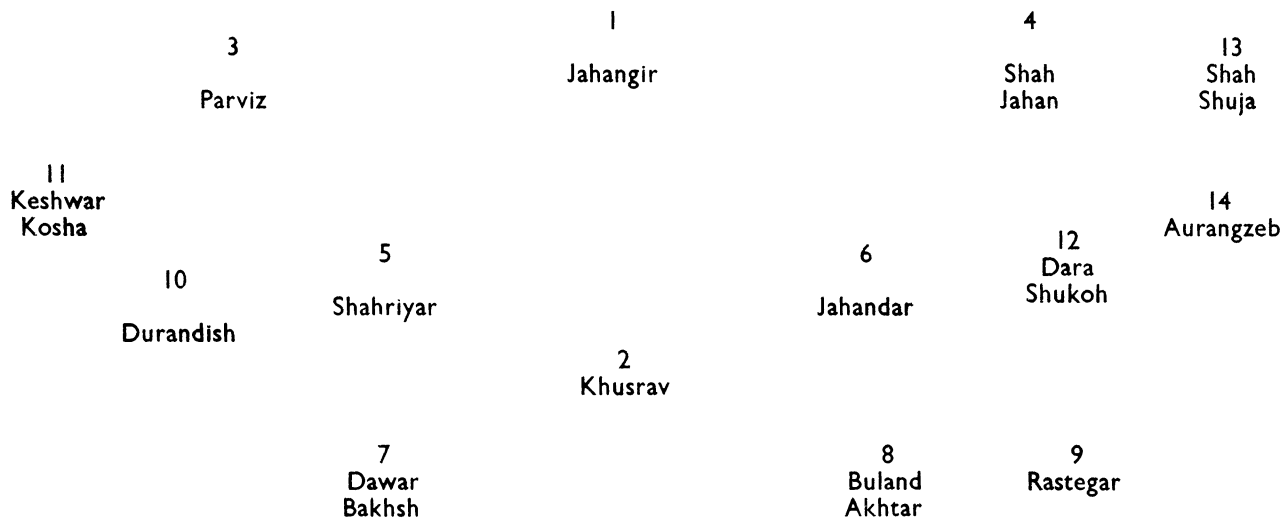
a—Genealogy of Jahangir. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (p. 253)



b—Genealogies of Jahangir and Miran Shah. Paris, Rothschild Collection (p. 258)

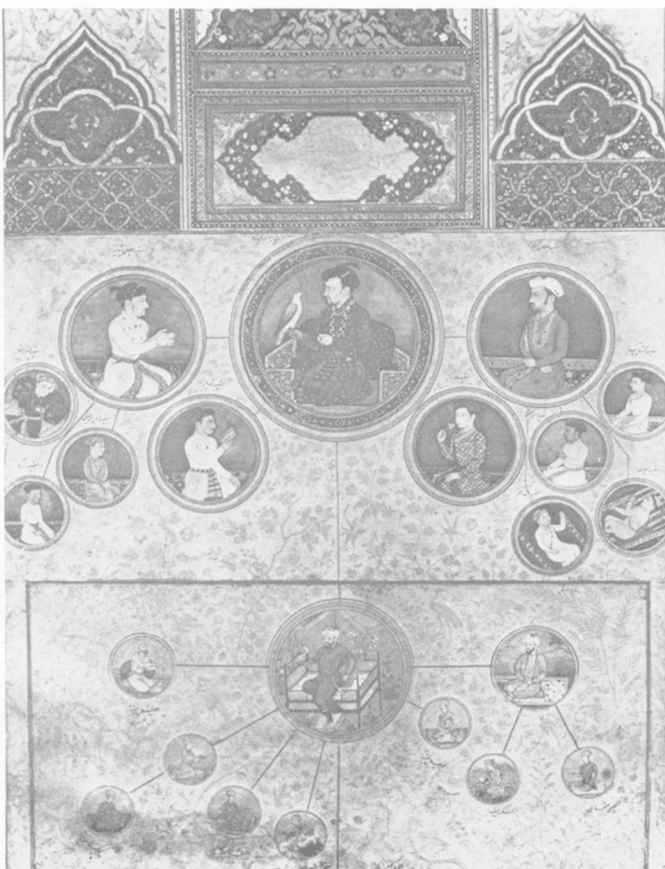


c—Shah Jahan at the window of the palace. Formerly Firmin-Didot Collection (p. 265)

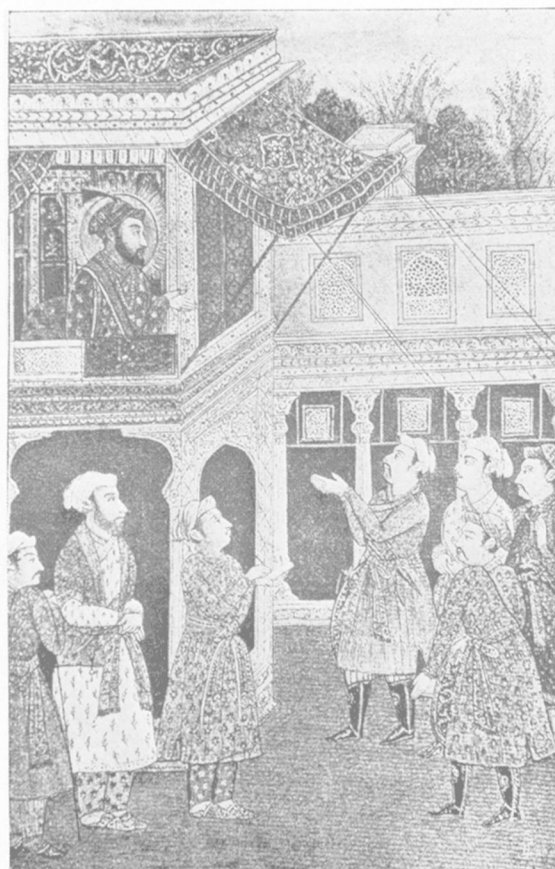




a—Genealogy of Jahangir. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (*p.* 253)



b—Genealogies of Jahangir and Miran Shah. Paris, Rothschild Collection (*p.* 258)



c—Shah Jahan at the window of the palace.
Formerly Firmin-Didot Collection (*p.* 265)



a—Genealogy of Shah Jahan. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (*p.* 257)



b—Portraits of two courtiers. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (*p.* 265)



c—Portrait of a lady. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (*p.* 267)

Directly below the portrait of Shah Jahan appears that (12) of his first-born son Dara Shukoh Mirza. His name ('in majesty like Darius') appears at the back transcribed as 'Drascu-Mirza'. With the excitement of a proud grandfather Jahangir entered in his *Memoirs* the joyful news that on 30 March 1615 'in the ascension of Sagittarius, a boy was born to Baba Khurram by the daughter of Asaf Khan; I gave him the name of Dara Shukoh. I hope that his coming will be propitious to the State conjoined with eternity, and to his fortunate father.'³¹

Jahangir's wishes did not come true. The prince was executed in 1659 in the war of succession while his father was still alive. A miniature in Nicolao Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* shows the gruesome scene when Dara Shukoh's severed head with the pearl-studded turban and aigrette was brought on a platter to his victorious younger brother Aurangzeb.³² Dara Shukoh was a patron of the arts,³³ a scholar, but above all a mystic who, like his great-grandfather Akbar, searched for the common truth in Islam and Hinduism.

Slightly smaller medallions contain the portraits of Shah Jahan's second and third son. They show no inscriptions,³⁴ but can be easily identified as Shah Shuja' (born 23 June 1616) and Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan's successor (born 24 October 1618).³⁵

The five medallion portraits of Jahangir's sons (2-6) show their different rank. The largest medallion (2) has been reserved for his first-born son Khusrav, somewhat smaller ones (3-4) for Parviz and Khurram (Shah Jahan), and still smaller ones (5-6) were deemed sufficient for the two youngest sons, both born of concubines in 1605. Both are shown on the genealogical tree as still in their boyhood. To the right (6) we see 'Sultan Jahandar' who was regarded as mentally feeble, and never played any part in politics,³⁶ and on the left (5) his brother 'Sultan Shahriyar', the future pretender to the throne who was executed in 1628.

A second genealogical tree was never finished (Pl. 29a).³⁷ It shows in the centre Shah Jahan, now older and with the halo of the reigning monarch.

of 'Jahangir embracing his son Shah Jahan' in the India Office Library which depicts a ceremony which took place in 1620 (J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Mughal painting*, 1948, pl. 7).

³¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 282. The other sources give the date of birth as 20 March 1615; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ii, 134; Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, i, 1935, p. 1.

³² Reproduced in L. Langlès, *Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Hindoustan*, i, 1821, pl. facing p. 202; N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine, ii, 1907, frontispiece; *Weltgeschichte*, ed. J. von Pflugk-Hartung, Orient 1910, p. 452.

³³ On a *muraqqa'* put together by him and presented to his wife see P. Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 94; *The art of India and Pakistan, a commemorative catalogue*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, 1950, no. 762.

³⁴ The Italian annotator wrote on the

back 'Atazab scia giaan Figliolo del re Corron', completely misunderstanding the second line of the Persian text which refers to Shah Jahan. He left a blank for the other portrait (no. 14).

³⁵ The dates after Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, 1932, p. 15.

³⁶ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 20, 156. Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 33. The evidence for Jahandar's insanity is not conclusive; cf. Sri Ram Sharma, *Journal of Indian History*, xi, 1932, p. 343, who has put together the little which is known of his biography. The date of his death is not known. The Italian inscription at the back calls him strangely 'Soltan Sciariad giaandar' and his brother 'Soltan Sciariad'.

³⁷ Size 132 × 195 mm. Of the Italian inscription at the back only the left half is still legible: 'Il Re Corron hora regna'.

He is sitting on a throne, in his right hand a globe which has a small ring attached to it so that it can be held comfortably. A crown appears on the globe; it is like the globe itself a symbol adopted under European influence in obvious allusion to the name of the emperor ('Ruler of the World').³⁸ The portrait shows him with a turban decorated with rubies and pearls of unusual size, some of the fabulous jewels of the Grand Mughals.³⁹

While the painter finished the central medallion in its most minute details, the intention of adding portraits of the emperor's eight sons was never carried out. The sitting figures of three of the sons were sketched in outline; in four roundels the painter wrote down the names of the princes, no doubt to be covered later with the green colour of the backgrounds, and one was left a blank.

Only four sons of Shah Jahan reached a mature age; but according to a contemporary chronicle Shah Jahan's favourite wife Aliya Begum, called Mumtaz Mahal, 'had borne him eight sons and six daughters'.⁴⁰ Mumtaz Mahal died in childbed in 1631 and Shah Jahan honoured her memory by erecting the Taj Mahal as her tomb.

The two genealogical trees, the finished and the unfinished one, recall at once two very similar ones in Paris and Berlin. What is their relationship?

In 1935 Ivan Stchoukine published together with other Mughal miniatures from the collection of Baron Maurice de Rothschild a leaf on which two fragments from a genealogical tree have been arbitrarily united (Pl. 28b).⁴¹ The lower half shows medallion portraits of Miran Shah, a son of Timur, with his sons and grandsons. It was painted at the time of Akbar and is signed by one of his court painters, Darandj. Now united with it is a similar tableau of Jahangir and his descendants which corresponds in all essentials to the leaf in the album in the Vatican Library. The obvious conclusion that the two miniatures in the Rothschild collection are fragments from an illustrated genealogy of the Mughal emperors which consisted of separate tableaux for each ruler since Timur at once received confirmation when Kühnel published one of the missing parts, the genealogy of Akbar which he had acquired for the Berlin Museum.⁴²

When we compare the two versions of 'Jahangir and his descendants', the one in the Rothschild collection, the other in the Vatican, it is obvious that the former looks tidier and better arranged. It must also be later, as two grandchildren who had been born in the meantime now make their first appearance.

³⁸ The symbolic globe with the crown appears also on a miniature by Bichitr in the Chester Beatty Collection (J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Mughal painting*, 1948, pl. 8).

³⁹ On Shah Jahan's famous *sarpesh* (turban ornament) see the sources quoted in A. Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals*, 1942, pp. 339, 533. The turban with its pearls, rubies and other precious stones appears clearly on Balchand's portrait of Shah Jahan in the Victoria and Albert Museum (C. S. Clark, *Indian drawings. Thirty Mogul paintings of the school of Jahangir*, 1922,

pl. 9).

⁴⁰ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, Shah Jahan, p. 28.

⁴¹ I. Stchoukine, 'Portraits Moghols. IV. La collection du baron Maurice de Rothschild', *Revue des arts asiatiques*, ix, 1935, pp. 190-208. Cf. also the rather puzzling reference to a genealogical tree of Jahangir in the Rothschild collection in Percy Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

⁴² E. Kühnel, 'Eine Stammtafel der Moghulkaiser in Miniaturbildnissen', *Berliner Museen*, lxii, 1941, pp. 30-33.

Khusrau is now the father of four and Parviz of three sons.⁴³ The main difference is, however, the absence of a portrait of Shah Jahan on the Rothschild miniature. Stchoukine offered two alternative explanations for this surprising omission: one being that the rebel son was excluded on purpose, the other that his portrait formed the centre of the next section of the genealogy. Kühnel declared himself in favour of the second explanation and we see now that it was the correct one. In other words, the Rothschild miniature is a second and revised version painted after the death of Jahangir (1627) during the reign of Shah Jahan. It was executed to replace the leaf which is now in the Vatican Library.

From the artistic point of view the miniature in the Vatican is the original, the one in the Rothschild collection the copy. The former is also a historical document which has preserved for us contemporary portraits of Jahangir's family. The revised copy was not a mechanical one. Details of the dress were changed, a dagger added or an ornament altered, but no attempt was made to show the sitters at a more advanced age.

To bring the genealogy up to date, a new section was added with Shah Jahan and his eight sons; but the attempt was soon abandoned and the portrait group remained unfinished. It is not without interest to draw attention to a small, but significant detail. Vertical lines connect the single sections which were intended to form a long, vertical roll. Only the section which was for the time being the last one lacked this sign of continuation at the bottom, in our case the two leaves in the Vatican.

As it has some bearing on the date of the miniatures a word should be added on the ornamental background patterns painted in gold. The fashion for these started in China and reached India via Persia. As in similar Persian paintings animals and human figures were introduced into the ornaments. Under Akbar and Jahangir these gold paintings had become a branch of art in itself and some of the best painters at the Mughal court created masterpieces in that particular *genre*.⁴⁴ Later on, already under Shah Jahan these gold patterns became again a subordinate part of book decoration without any higher ambitions. A comparison of the parts of the genealogical tree executed under Akbar and Jahangir with those painted under Shah Jahan shows this clearly. The discarded sheet with Jahangir and his descendants (Pl. 28a) represents the Akbar tradition; in its copy in the Rothschild collection the decoration has already been reduced to a comparatively modest plant ornament.

The finished miniature in the Vatican Library dates obviously from the reign of Jahangir. It must have been painted after 1605, when Jahangir became emperor, and before 1628, when Shah Jahan ascended the throne. It should, however, be possible to fix the date more precisely.

If we look at it carefully we realize that the medallions with the portraits of Shah Jahan's second and third sons (13-14) are later additions. Their execution is not quite so masterly as that of the other portraits, they were obviously painted by a different and less skilful hand. Not only are they much smaller as the painter had to squeeze them in, we see also that they are

⁴³ A son was born to Parviz in 1618 (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 19).

⁴⁴ On these paintings see especially the paper by H. Goetz quoted above, note 8.

painted on top of the ornamental patterns in gold which everywhere else carefully surround the medallions. Of the two princes, whose portraits had to be added, one was born on 23 June 1616, the other on 24 October 1618.

Their father Shah Jahan appears in the inscription next to his portrait with the name he received at his birth as 'Sultan Khurram son of the Shah'. A second line, obviously a later addition and of smaller size, adds the information 'who is called Shah Jahan'. It was in November 1616 that Jahangir conferred upon his son the title of Shah. 'I ordered that thereafter he should be styled Shah Sultan Khurram.'⁴⁵ This was an outstanding honour as never before had a prince received this title; the mere fact that it does not appear on the miniature shows that it must have been painted before November 1616. An even higher honour was conferred upon Prince Khurram on 12 October 1617, when he received the title of Shah Jahan, 'Ruler of the World'.⁴⁶ The second line of the inscription must have been added after that date.

The painter was careful to show every member of the family at his correct age.⁴⁷ Even if some of the portraits from life which he used as models should have reached the court with delay, this would have been only a matter of weeks. Of some of the princes the date of birth is not known, but we know that the second son of Parviz, Dur-andish (10), was born on 31 January 1615.⁴⁸ He appears as a little boy who is already able to sit upright, but it would be difficult to fix his age more precisely. There can, however, be little doubt that Dara Shukoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son (12), is a baby not quite a year old, perhaps ten to eleven months. Jahangir gives the date of his birth as 30 March 1615.⁴⁹

This would date the genealogical tree of Jahangir to the first months, let us say January–March 1616, certainly before the birth of Shah Shuj' on 23 June 1616. Jahangir was then 47 years old, Khusrau (2) 29, Parviz (3) 27, Shah Jahan (4) 24, and the two youngest sons (5–6) 11 years.

It was a time of peace and harmony in the family of Jahangir. True, Khusrau was still in disgrace and virtually a prisoner, but Jahangir entered in his *Memoirs* with grandfatherly pride the news that a son had been born to his oldest son. Parviz, always a loyal son, appeared at court with the customary gifts and received others in return.⁵⁰ Shah Jahan was still the faithful son, and not yet the cursed rebel; he was then his father's favourite and designed to become his successor. His twenty-fourth birthday was celebrated with the traditional pomp. 'Up to the present year, when he is 24 years old, and is married and has children, he has never defiled himself with drinking wine.' Now his father encouraged him with an appropriate quotation from Avicenna to taste the forbidden, but beneficial drink.⁵¹ On the 'Durbar of Jahangir' (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington), the date of which Ettinghausen has

⁴⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i, 338. Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 267.

⁴⁶ Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 280.

⁴⁷ A problem is presented by Khusrau's second son Bulad Akhtar (8). He appears as a baby only a few months old, but we know that he was born in 1609 (see above, note 24). The most likely explanation is that he died in early childhood.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 256.

⁴⁹ Other sources as 20 March; see above, note 31.

⁵⁰ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i, 310; *ibid.*, 295 ('I sent a jewelled waist-dagger to my son Parviz').

⁵¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 306. On Avicenna's Persian verses in praise of wine see F. Gabrieli, *Dal mondo dell'Islam*, 1954, p. 83.

fixed as 1615 or 1616, both Shah Jahan and Parviz appear at the side of their father, while the blinded first-born Khusrau is at least represented by his son Dawar Bakhsh.⁵²

The Genealogy with the pictures of the Emperor, and his sons and grandsons was painted in a short, peaceful interval in the perpetual sequence of revolt, fratricide and struggle for the succession. Nothing shows so clearly Jahangir's love for his children as the horror he felt when he heard that Abbas I, the Shah of Persia, had his eldest son executed. All travellers coming from Persia, and later the ambassador were asked for details of such an unnatural act. 'The killing of a son must have some powerful motive in order to do away with the disgrace of it.'⁵³

A genealogical tree with portrait medallions is so unusual and rare in Islamic art, that one feels tempted to look out for its historical antecedents. Obviously two traditions met here, the schematic 'tree' scheme on the one hand, and the series of ruler portraits on the other.

Few nations can have been more genealogy-conscious than the Arabs. To show the ramifications of a family in the shape of a schematic 'tree' was quite common;⁵⁴ but it was never combined with portraits.

The impulse to paint portraits of the successive rulers of a dynasty (but not as a genealogical tree) came from abroad, the first time in the early Islamic period from Sassanian Persia,⁵⁵ and then again, centuries later, from the China of the Yüan dynasty.⁵⁶

In Europe the combination of a genealogical tree with medallion portraits existed at least since the twelfth century.⁵⁷

The Mughal emperors were extremely proud of their descentance from the world-conqueror Timur.⁵⁸ Being art-lovers, they were anxious to assemble portraits of their ancestors,⁵⁹ or had them painted. One form was a kind of

⁵² R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India*, 1961, pl. 11.

⁵³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 294, 338.

⁵⁴ See the remarks by Graebner (quoted below, note 57), p. 11; A. Watson, *The early iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, 1934, p. 39, pl. 34.

⁵⁵ H. H. Schaeder, 'Über das Bilderbuch der Sasaniden-Könige', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lvii, 1936, pp. 231-2. Hamza's descriptions of the portraits of the Sassanian kings have been assembled by J. Fürst, 'Die literarische Portraitmanier im Bereich des griechisch-römischen Schrifttums', *Philologus*, lxi, 1902, pp. 423-6.

⁵⁶ On the portraits in the History of Rashid ad-Din see G. Inal, 'Some miniatures of the Jami' al-tavarikh in Istanbul', *Ars Orientalis*, v, 1963, 163ff. The page with the figures of the last emperors of the Sung dynasty from the Bodleian manuscript of Rashid ad-Din is reproduced in P. Kahle, 'China as described by Turkish geographers', *Proceedings of the Iran Society*, ii, part 4, 1940, fig. 1 (but not in the reprint in Kahle's *Opera minora*, 1956).

⁵⁷ For early examples see H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 1936, p. 14, pl. 13, and W. Föhl, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ii, 1948, coll. 82-85. In general see W. Gräbner, *Über Ursprung und Art bildlicher Darstellungen von Stammtafel und Ahnentafel*, Dissertation, Görlitz 1902.

⁵⁸ A miniature showing Jahangir surrounded by medallion portraits of his ancestors is reproduced in *Delhi Museum of Archaeology, Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, 1911, pl. 39. Medallions with the names of his eight ancestors appear on the miniature with 'Jahangir and Shah Abbas on a throne' in Washington (Ettinghausen, *loc. cit.*, pl. 13). These eight medallions with the names of his ancestors from Timur onwards appear also on Jahangir's personal seal (reproduced in C. S. Clarke, *loc. cit.*, p. 4).

⁵⁹ Jahangir was particularly interested in portraits of his ancestor Timur. In his *Memoirs* (ii, 116) he mentions a Persian painting of a battle scene with portraits of Timur and his children. On another

Conversazione, an a-historical portrait group in which the representatives of succeeding generations were shown assembled as if they were contemporaries. The most famous is the large Indo-Persian painting of the 'Emperors and princes of the House of Timur' in the British Museum, where the descendants of Timur are shown in a 'conversation piece' sitting in and around a garden pavilion.⁶⁰ Later Mughal paintings often follow this pattern by showing the successive rulers grouped together.⁶¹

When Akbar had the portraits of his ancestors painted in the shape of a genealogical tree, he followed a Timurid family tradition. In one of the famous albums with miniatures in Istanbul (No. 2152) there exist fragments of such an illustrated genealogical tree of the descendants of Chingis-khan and Timur consisting of medallion portraits which are connected by vertical lines. Ettinghausen, who published one of these miniatures, has already stressed their importance for the later pictorial genealogies of the Mughal emperors.⁶² Indeed, it must have been such a manuscript which inspired Akbar to his 'up-to-date' version.

In Turkey we find illustrated genealogical tables of the Ottoman Sultans, which go back—via the prophets—to Adam. The fashion for these portrait galleries *en miniature* started in the sixteenth century.⁶³ The Turkish genealogies had a forerunner in the Western world; but it is doubtful whether there was a direct connexion between the two. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Dalmatian humanist and painter Felix Petancius compiled a 'Genealogia Turcorum Imperatorum' which consisted mainly of eight roundels with the portraits of the Ottoman Sultans up to Bayazid II (1481–1512).⁶⁴ It seems much more likely that the Ottoman pictorial genealogies, like the Mughal ones, are derived from Eastern Turkish models.

occasion he doubted the authenticity of a portrait of Timur which was alleged to have been painted by a Christian artist at the time of the victory over Bayazid (*ibid.*, i, 154). Cf. Shapurshah Hormasji Hodivala, *A critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India* (Studies in Indo-Muslim history, suppl. ii), 1957, pp. 312f.

⁶⁰ L. Binyon, *A Persian painting of the sixteenth century. Emperors and princes of the house of Timur*, 1930. In the 17th century portraits of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan were added to the original group which dates from about A.D. 1550.

⁶¹ Examples are fairly numerous; e.g. two miniatures each with three rulers on their thrones: *Athar-e Iran*, ii, 1937, p. 186, figs. 63–64. A Mughal miniature in Vienna (Schloss Schönbrunn), one of those which Rembrandt copied, is said to represent Timur surrounded by Jahangir, Akbar, Humayan and Babur (O. Benesch, *The drawings of Rembrandt*, v, 1957, pp. 336f., no. 1188). I am unable to detect any resemblance to the well-known features of these rulers.

⁶² R. Ettinghausen, 'Some paintings in four

Istanbul albums', *Ars Orientalis*, i, 1954, p. 95f., fig. 41. On this genealogy, an Uighur supplement to Rashid ad-Din, see now Z. V. Togan, *On the miniatures in Istanbul libraries*, 1963, pp. 8–13; the same, 'Zentralasiatische türkische Literaturen', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 5.Bd. 1.Abschnitt, 1963, p. 235.

⁶³ F. Babinger, 'Quellen zur osmanischen Kunstgeschichte', *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, i, 1924, p. 40; the same, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 1927, p. 70. K. Holter, *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, xx, 1937, pp. 112–16, pl. xxvii. V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures*, 1958, p. 43, no. 423; cf. the review by K. Holter, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, lvi, 1960, p. 336, who stresses the importance of Eastern Turkish models for these Ottoman illuminated genealogies.

⁶⁴ The 'Genealogia' is preserved in manuscripts at Budapest (cod. lat. 378) and Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, vitrina 4–12). J. D. Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, i, 1933, p. 339, no. 870; F. Banfi, 'Felix Ragusinus',

Ten Unfinished Portraits

The Genealogy of Shah Jahan is not the only unfinished miniature in the album. No less than ten portrait miniatures which never went beyond the stage of underpainting have been stuck on two of its leaves (one reproduced Pl. 30b). Disappointing as works of art, these miniatures can teach us something about the technical methods of the court painters and the organization of their workshops.

All these heads appear flat and lifeless, although they have been drawn by an experienced hand. Evidently they were done in preparation for a second artist who would have to impart life to them, and to give them the masterly finish and the brilliant colours which are the glory of Mughal painting. The faces are underpainted in a brownish tone, but lack all flesh-colour; for the dresses and turbans various colours have been used, even gold, but all modelling is still absent. The jewels have been left as blanks and look now like pearls, although this was certainly not the intention in every case.⁶⁵

When in 1890 the Austrian painter Ludwig Hans Fischer published the pioneer study of Indian painting, he was as a practising artist particularly interested in all technical aspects. What he has to say on the subject is still worth reading. Studying some unfinished miniatures, he had 'almost the impression that two painters worked together'.⁶⁶ It is now well known that Mughal miniatures were often the work of more than one painter. It is not uncommon to find a miniature signed by two artists. 'It was the custom for several painters to collaborate on one picture, so that it is rare to find any miniature which is entirely the work of one artist.'⁶⁷ In an often quoted passage of his *Memoirs* Jahangir boasts that he was able to recognize the style of every single one of his painters even when they collaborated on the same face:⁶⁸

And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrow.

Of the ten unfinished portraits nine show the characteristic features of

in *Janus Pannonius*, i, 1947, pp. 679–706. In 1527 the German painter Michael Ostendorfer published a woodcut with the genealogy of the twelve Sultans up to Sulaiman I (reprod. M. Geisberg, *Bilderkatalog*, 1930, p. 172; *Berliner Museen*, lvii, 1936, p. 5).

⁶⁵ The measurements of the six miniatures shown on Plate 30b are in numerical order 70×53, 64×50, 65×47, 66×52, 67×50, 68×54 mm.

⁶⁶ L. H. Fischer, 'Indische Malerei', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. i, 1890, p. 241: 'Zuweilen sind einzelne Partien stückweise fertig gemacht, während andere bis auf die Zeichnung noch unvollendet tehen, so dass es fast den Eindruck macht,

dass sich zwei Maler in die Arbeit geteilt hätten.'

⁶⁷ Percy Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 109; *ibid.*, p. 160 on the meaning of the various technical terms used in the signatures ('*aml*, *surat*, etc.). 'In a few pictures the inscription also states that one of the artists undertook the *rangamezi*, or colouring.' On the stages in painting a face see Moti Chandra, *The technique of Mughal painting*, 1949, p. 42. This book is a study of the traditional methods of the last surviving Indian miniature painters, but as the technique has obviously changed considerably in the course of the last centuries, it is risky to draw historical conclusions from modern practice.

⁶⁸ Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

Shah Jahan, while No. 3 seems to represent his father Jahangir. The features are his, and the regalia, orb and crown, seem to confirm the identification. It would be difficult to guess what the strange object in the right top corner might be, especially as the painter has not finished it,⁶⁹ were it not for a very similar portrait in an album in Leningrad (Pl. 30a),⁷⁰ where we see at once that the object in question is the oldest and most widespread symbol of royalty in the East, the 'Royal Parasol' (*čatr*, etc.).⁷¹

The miniature in Leningrad represents according to its inscription Asaf Khan in the act of bringing the regalia to his supreme lord (Pl. 30a). One hesitates to believe that a courtier, even in the privileged position of one who was the emperor's brother-in-law, would have dared to have his portrait depicted in such an ambiguous situation where the uninformed spectator must have taken him for the emperor himself. On the other hand, what the inscription says cannot easily be set aside. The features do not help as Asaf Khan tried, as courtiers so often did, to ape the appearance of his master. In *durbar* pictures Asaf Khan appears as a veritable double of Jahangir.⁷²

These miniatures which show the emperor behind a parapet over which a carpet or piece of brocade has been spread, recall the identical arrangement of Flemish and Italian portraits from the Quattrocento. The resemblance is striking, but deceptive. The 'Ruler at the Window' is an abbreviated version of an important ceremony in the daily routine of the Mughal emperors.⁷³ Sir Thomas Roe, who stayed in India as English ambassador from 1615 to 1618, has described it:⁷⁴

Every morning the Mogul comes to a window called the *jaruco*, which looks into the plain or open space before the palace gate, where he shows himself to the common people.

⁶⁹ It is painted in gold like the crown.

⁷⁰ A. A. Ivanov, T. V. Grek and O. F. Akimushkin, *Al'bom indijskich i persidskich miniatjur XVI–XVIII vv.*, 1962, pl. 8.

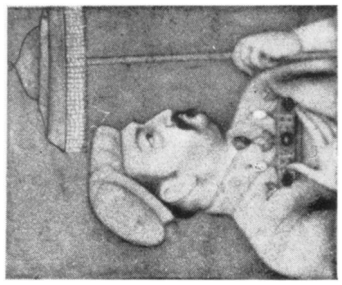
⁷¹ The literature on the long and complicated history of the 'royal parasol' is widely scattered. The best survey is still, in spite of its early date, R. Andree, 'Der Schirm als Würdezeichen' (in his *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, 1878, pp. 250–8). The entry 'Regalia. The umbrella' in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (x, 637) is very short, confused and disappointing. On the *Čatr* in Islam see the references in R. L. Devonshire, 'An Egyptian Mameluke feature in a Persian miniature', *Apollo*, xiv, 1931, pp. 279–82, and J. Deny, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Sanjak. On its spread to Central Asia and the Far East, see B. Laufer, 'Loan-words in Tibetan', *T'oung Pao*, xvii, 1916, p. 478, and Kazuo Enoki, 'Some remarks on the country of Ta-Ch'in', *Asia Minor*, n.s., iv, 1954, pp. 11f. In Europe the symbol occurs only sporadically (in

Venice and in the papal ceremonial), always under obvious Oriental influence (see Andree, *loc. cit.*).

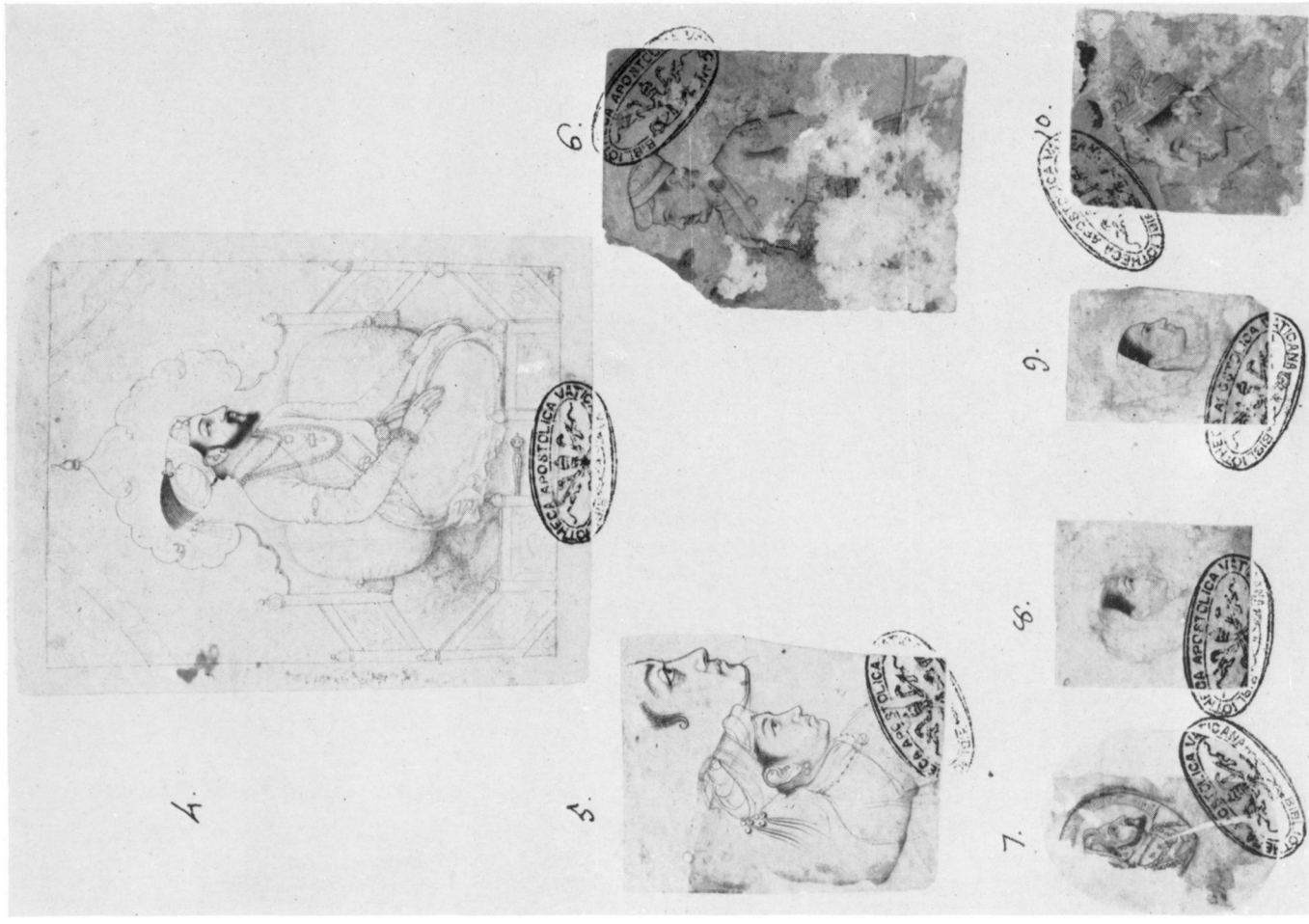
⁷² See the picture in the Leningrad album: Ivanov, *loc. cit.*, pl. 32. Characteristic portraits of Asaf Khan can be seen in the 'Jahangir Album' in Berlin (E. Kühnel and H. Götz, *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir-Album*, 1923, pl. 36); in the miniature with Jahangir and Shah Abbas in Washington (R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American collections*, 1961, pl. 13); on the 'Durbar of Jahangir' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (for a colour reproduction see above, note 14; I. Stchoukine, *Revue des arts asiatiques*, vi, 1929–30, p. 221 with further notes on his portraits, and an addendum, *ibid.*, ix, 1935, p. 200); etc.

⁷³ This has been painted out by H. Goetz, 'Indische historische Porträts', *Asia Major*, ii, 1925, p. 231.

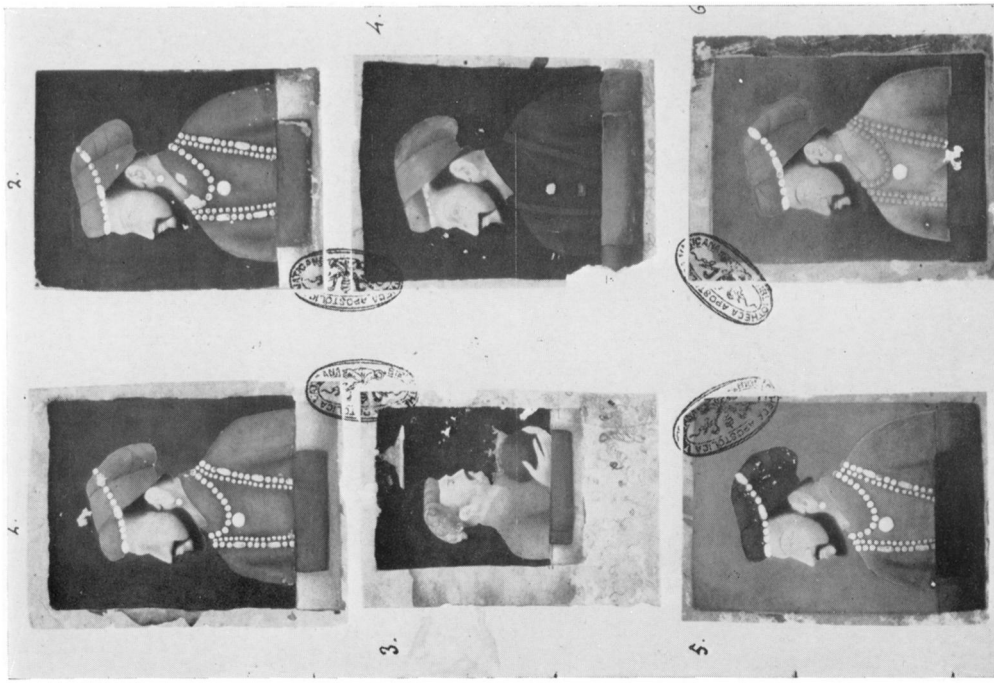
⁷⁴ Elliot and Dowson, *loc. cit.*, p. 157 n.



a—Portrait of Asaf Khan.
Leningrad (p. 264)



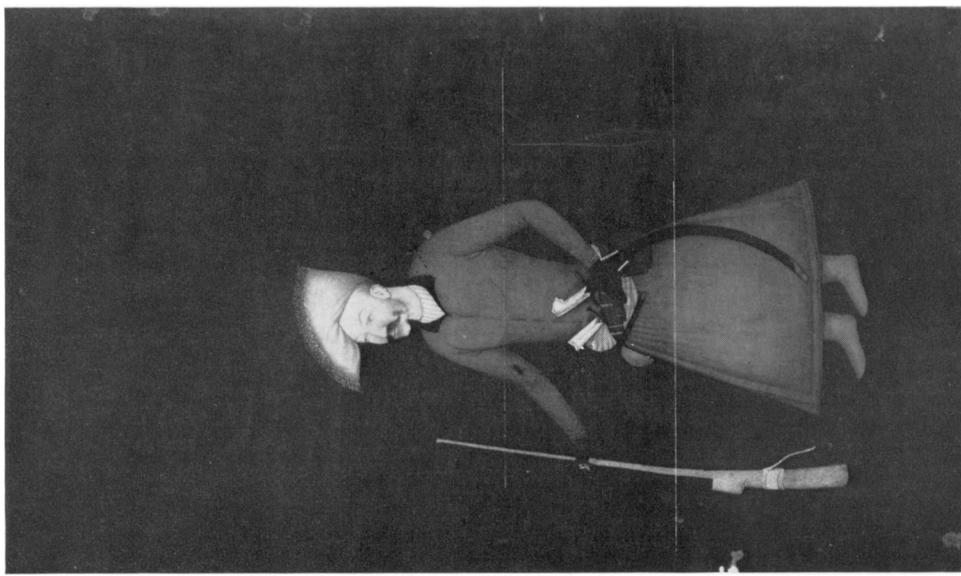
c—Seven drawings. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (p. 266)



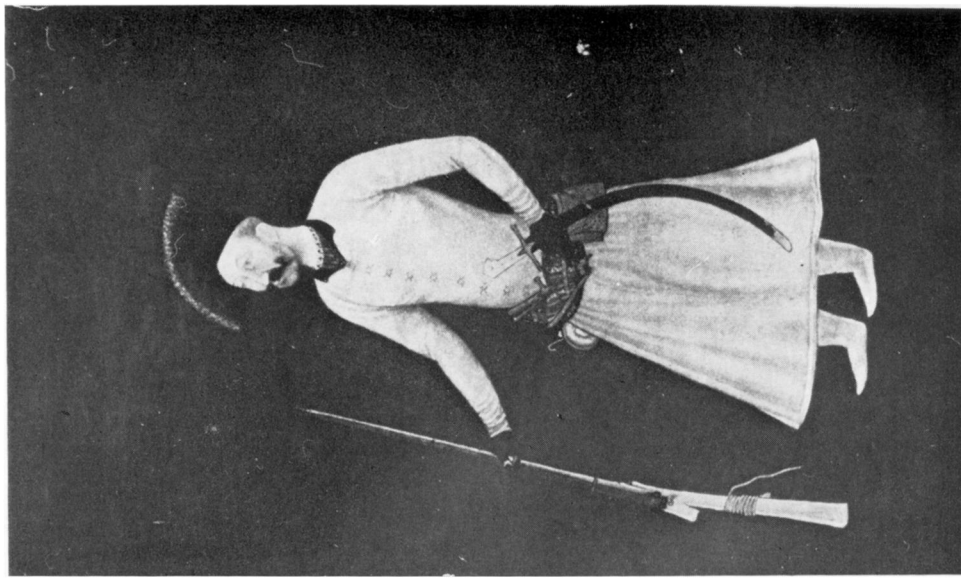
b—Six unfinished portraits. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (p. 263)



a—Shah Abbas I. Sketch. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (p. 268)



b—Shah Abbas I. Miniature. Vatican, Barb. Or. 136 (p. 270)



c—Shah Abbas I. Miniature. Teheran, Gulistan (p. 270)

This was a jealously guarded prerogative of the emperor. In 1611 when the *amirs* of the frontier posts had usurped certain imperial rights, Jahangir issued a proclamation in the first paragraph of which they were told 'Not to sit at the jharoka or window'.⁷⁵

The actual ceremony can best be seen in a miniature which once belonged to the Firmin-Didot collection (Pl. 28c).⁷⁶ It shows Shah Jahan at the *jarokha* in half-figure framed by the window exactly as in the small miniatures. When Aurangzeb reverted to orthodox Muhammadan practices and abolished many Indian customs, the ceremony of the emperor showing himself every morning at a window of the palace was discontinued.⁷⁷ The abbreviated pictorial version with the bust of the emperor behind a window made its first appearance not in miniatures, but on the gold *mohur* with the head of Akbar which Jahangir had struck in the first year of his reign (1605) in honour of the 'New Faith' founded by his father.⁷⁸

The first two portraits of Shah Jahan (Pl. 30b) are practically identical. The others show some variations in the colour of the turbans or dresses. These little square portraits were evidently turned out in large numbers. Collectors used them in two different ways, either by mounting them as the centre of an album-leaf and surrounding them by strips of ornaments and calligraphic writing,⁷⁹ or by putting a pair of these portrait above a larger composition.⁸⁰ Rembrandt copied such a miniature, where Shah Jahan appears at a window together with one of his sons.⁸¹

Two Portrait Sketches of Courtiers

The two drawings which are united on the same leaf are real sketches from life (Pl. 29b). It is important to stress this, because what usually go under the name of 'Indian drawings' are not what we are used to call drawings, but are outline copies and tracings which artists kept in their studios to enable them to produce replicas at some later date.⁸² Here we are in front of true sketches, tentative in the outlines of the body, of masterly precision in the physiognomies.

One would like to know who the very old man with the wrinkled face and the penetrating eyes is, but the identification of portraits is always risky and even more so in a case where a part of the drawing is damaged.⁸³ He is perhaps Khan-i Khanan (1556-1627) who achieved prominence as a military commander already under Akbar, and later as Jahangir's prime minister

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷⁶ Gustave Le Bon, *Les civilisations de l'Inde*, 1887, p. 105. A. von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii, 1907, p. 240. The miniature had to be reproduced here from an unsatisfactory old reproduction.

⁷⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, iv, 1937, p. 230. A. Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, 1964, pp. 178, 197.

⁷⁸ J. Allan, 'A portrait mohur of Akbar', *The British Museum Quarterly*, v, 1930-31, pp. 56f.; reprinted in *27th Annual Report of the National Art-Collections Fund*, 1930 (1931), p. 49.

¹⁸

⁷⁹ Like the portrait of Jahangir with an open book in his hands in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (reproduced as a coloured postcard issued by the Museum).

⁸⁰ Many examples exist; several can be found in the Leningrad album (Ivanov, *loc. cit.*, pls. 8, 59, 70-72).

⁸¹ Benesch, *loc. cit.*, no. 1196, fig. 1420.

⁸² A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian drawings*, 2 vols., 1910-12.

⁸³ Size of the drawing 125 x 69 mm. The only colours used are two shades of red and some white on the turban.

always managed to regain the emperor's confidence after temporary eclipses.⁸⁴ The identification is, however, far from certain.

Nor has it been possible to identify the man portrayed on the other sketch, again a monochrome drawing with some light touches of colour in the turban.⁸⁵ A certain resemblance to the portraits of Itimad ad-Daula, Nur Jahan's father and Jahangir's father-in-law, seems fortuitous.⁸⁶

Seven Small Portrait Drawings

Of the seven small portrait drawings which have been stuck on the same sheet (Pl. 30c), one (6) is a masterly sketch (40 × 55 mm.) with delicate touches of colour in the face, especially on the lips, and on the earring. Jahangir is shown standing, a long sword at his side; it is one of the not very numerous intimate portraits of the emperor which avoid the usual solemnity, unless we assume—which is not impossible but less likely—that the minute drawing represents one of the courtiers who so much resembled their ruler.

There can be no doubt about the identity of the two portraits of Shah Jahan. Neither is strictly speaking a sketch. The one (7) of rather unusual shape, a tiny pointed oval (height 22 mm.) is drawn on thin, transparent paper. The outlines have been pricked with a needle for transfer. 'Shah Jahan enthroned' (4) looks only like a drawing, but is a miniature which never got beyond its first stage of preparation (88 × 66 mm.). The emperor is shown seated and facing right, bedecked with jewellery, in his belt a dagger of a peculiar Indian shape.⁸⁷ Of a characteristic Indian shape also is the hexagonal throne with its elaborate polylobed back.⁸⁸ Such thrones existed

⁸⁴ On his biography see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., i, 80. His patronage of the arts has been studied by M. Mahfuzul Haq, 'The Khan Khanan and his painters, illuminators and calligraphers', *Islamic Culture*, v, 1931, pp. 621–30. There exist many portraits of him; e.g. in the album in Leningrad (Ivanov, *loc. cit.*, pl. 32); on the Durbar in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see above, note 14); in the Jahangir Album in Berlin (Kühnel and Götz, *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir-Album*, 1924, p. 8, pl. 36; J. Horowitz, 'Zu den Beischriften des Jahangir-Albums', *Der Islam*, xvi, 1927, p. 162); on the 'Weighing of Prince Khurram' in the British Museum (*Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, p. 47; *The art of India and Pakistan, a commemorative catalogue*, ed. by Sir Leigh Ashton, 1950, no. 710); etc. R. Ettinghausen (*loc. cit.*, p. 4) thinks that the man to the right in Rembrandt's copy after a Mughal miniature, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, represents Kahn-i Khanan, but the identification is not quite certain. The features of the man on Rembrandt's Indian original (in Schloss Schönbrunn; reprod. Benesch, *loc. cit.*, p. 339) seem somewhat different.

⁸⁵ He looks rather like the man who is shown, profile to left, standing immediately below the throne cushion in the scene of 'Jahangir embracing his son Shah Jahan', an unfinished miniature in the India Office Library (see also above, note 30). Reproduced in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian drawings*, i, 1910, pl. ii, and in colours in J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Mughal painting*, 1948, pl. 7. Coomaraswamy has mentioned a replica in his own possession where the name is given as Khan Azam (*Artibus Asiae*, ii, 1937, p. 293), but the correctness of the inscription has been doubted by Stchoukine, *Revue des arts asiatiques*, vi, 1929–30, p. 224.

⁸⁶ On his portraits see Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pp. 222f.

⁸⁷ It is still a matter of argument whether *katar* or *jamdhar* is the correct name for this type of dagger; cf. William Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, 1962, pp. 85f.

⁸⁸ On Indian thrones in general see H. Götz, *Encyclopedia of world art*, v, 1961, p. 738. Although Turkish thrones are normally of a different shape, the Indian fashion spread occasionally to Turkey (R. Ettinghausen, *Turkish miniatures*, 1965, p. 17).

since the time of Akbar⁸⁹ and possibly earlier, but no reliance can be laid on the fact that later painters depicted Humayun or even Timur on thrones of such a shape.⁹⁰

Of the two heads of a young prince (5 and 10; 48 × 39, 36 × 30 mm.) the one with the aigrette shows an unusual technique. To give the head more relief, the artist put a slight touch of ochre on the white paper, a technique apparently borrowed from Europe.⁹¹ The fashion of wearing earrings was started by Jahangir in 1614 when he had his ears pierced in fulfilment of a vow, and of course everybody at the court followed suit.⁹²

It is easy to identify the two drawings as the portrait of one of the sons of Shah Jahan, but less easy to state which one. Paintings which show the young princes together like the famous Cavalcade by Balchand (in the Victoria and Albert Museum)⁹³ show a remarkable, although not surprising, family likeness. However, the portraits of Shah Shuja' can be recognized by his curled lips.⁹⁴ The square jaw and chin make it practically certain that the two small drawings represent the young Aurangzeb.

It is remarkable how faithfully Rembrandt in his copies after Mughal miniatures rendered the physiognomies of his models. One of these Rembrandt drawings, which turned up only a few years ago, has been called 'Shah Jahan and his falconer'.⁹⁵ It is not difficult to recognize the so-called falconer as one of Shah Jahan's sons.

The two female heads (8 and 9; 30 × 25, 31 × 20 mm.) are, like the head of Aurangzeb, drawn on a light priming of a reddish-brown colour. We shall see in a moment that there was no prejudice against the portraiture of women at the court of the early Mughal rulers.

Portrait of a Lady

The portrait of a young woman (Pl. 29c) is one of the most enchanting creations of Mughal art. She is seen standing among flowers against a green background which at the top suddenly changes into a realistic sky with clouds

⁸⁹ Akbar on his throne, miniature from the Akbar Name, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 2—1896, 94/117). St. C. Welch, 'Early Mughal paintings from two private collections', *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 1959, p. 140, fig. 12.

⁹⁰ Envoys bringing gifts to Humayun at Agra in 1530; miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum (C. S. Clarke, *Indian drawings. Thirty Mogul paintings of the school of Jahangir*, 1922, pl. 3); according to K. Khandalavala (*Marg*, xi, no. 4, September 1958, p. 58) a copy from the second half of the 18th century. A miniature from the Timur Name in the Metropolitan Museum (M. S. Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammadan art*, 3rd ed., 1958, fig. 32). Numerous examples could be quoted.

⁹¹ J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung*, 2. Aufl., 1923, pp. 46f.

⁹² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i, 267. The wearing

of earrings for men had been an old Indian custom; cf. Leopold Schmidt, *Der Männerohrring im Volksschmuck und Volksglauben*, 1947, p. 17.

⁹³ I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne*, 1929, pl. xl. *The art of India and Pakistan, a commemorative catalogue*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, 1950, no. 755. A very good coloured reproduction has been published by the Museum. Dara Shukoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son, who does not appear on this miniature, looks somewhat different. His portraits show him with a pointed nose (*Encyclopedia of world art*, x, 1965, pl. 118).

⁹⁴ Another characteristic portrait of him belongs to the Heeramanek collection in New York: S. C. Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, 1963, pl. 44.

⁹⁵ Sale Sotheby's, 10 May 1961. Also reproduced in *Sotheby's 217th Season 1960-1961*, p. 138.

and flights of birds. The lady is dressed in one of those transparent muslins which were the pride of the textile industry of India. Her rich jewellery, consisting of finger-rings, ear-rings, bracelets, and above all by a necklace consisting of strings of enormous pearls, suggests that she must belong to the imperial harem. Even her slippers are adorned with pearl-studded tassels.⁹⁶

The young lady is shown in three-quarter view, something quite exceptional in Mughal art. When painting men, Indian painters preferred in the majority of cases the profile view, but for women it was almost *de rigueur*.⁹⁷

The Venetian traveller and physician Nicolao Manucci, who stayed in India towards the end of the seventeenth century, was most anxious to illustrate his *Storia do Mogor* with authentic portraits. In an often quoted passage he pointed out that it was impossible to obtain authentic likenesses of the ladies in the emperor's harem:

I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their being always concealed. If anyone has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing-girls, etc., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy.⁹⁸

Manucci's remarks are apparently directed against his predecessor F. La Boullage Le-Gouz, who in his *Voyages et observations* published a woodcut after a Mughal miniature which he said was the portrait of a daughter of Shah Jahan.⁹⁹ There is no doubt that Manucci's scepticism was justified. *Pariunt desideria non traditos vultus*. Pliny's famous words apply here too. As a result of the growing European interest in everything connected with the Mughal Empire numerous apocryphal portraits of Nur Jahan and other ladies went into circulation. We must not forget, however, that while Manucci's remarks are certainly true for his own time, when strict Muhammadan orthodoxy reigned at the court, they need not equally apply to the time of Jahangir with its laxer attitude. There can be no doubt that portraits of ladies were painted in the early seventeenth century, although we have to admit that not a single one is identified by an inscription.¹⁰⁰

Shah Abbas I

The half-figure of a standing man (Pl. 31a) is apparently a sketch from life.

⁹⁶ This was a passing fashion at the Mughal court as can be seen from the miniatures in the Gulistan Album: *Athar-é Iran*, ii, 1937, pp. 255, 263.

⁹⁷ One of these rare exceptions is the three-quarter portrait of a lady of rather similar features, and also with strings of pearls, but this time a half-figure in a (painted) oval gem-set frame (published by K. Khandalavala and M. Chondra, *Miniatures and sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir*, 1965, no. 29). Rembrandt copied a very similar portrait, likewise an oval medallion (Benesch, *loc. cit.*, no. 1206, fig. 1421).

⁹⁸ N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine, i, 1907, p. liv.

⁹⁹ Paris 1653, p. 128. The lady in question is shown wearing similar slippers with tassels.

¹⁰⁰ As there were several lady painters active in Mughal India, it has been suggested that these paintresses were allowed to enter the harem and draw likenesses there. O. C. Gangoly, 'On the authenticity of the feminine portraits of the Moghul School', *Rupam*, nos. 33-34, 1928, pp. 11-15; and as an addendum A. N. Gangoly, 'A Moghul miniature from the Lahore Museum', *ibid.*, nos. 38-39, 1929, pp. 84-86.

The artist changed the outlines various times. In the end he fixed with firm lines in ink the face and the turban, and left the rest in its first, tentative state.¹⁰¹ The artist was an Indian, but not so his model. The characteristic features leave no doubt that we have here a portrait of one of Persia's greatest monarchs, Shah Abbas I (1587-1629).

No other ruler occupied the mind of Jahangir so much as his mighty neighbour Abbas I, sometimes as his potential or actual enemy, but often as his royal 'brother'.¹⁰² Jahangir, who was always interested in physiognomics, was most anxious to find out what his friend and rival looked like. He himself tells us how once an opportunity presented itself:

At the time when I sent Khan Alam (as ambassador) to Persia, I had sent with him a painter of the name of Bishan Das, who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses, to take the portraits of the Shah and the chief men of his State, and bring them. He had drawn the likenesses of most of them, and especially had taken that of my brother the Shah exceedingly well, so that when I showed it to any of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn.

As the experiment was so successful, the painter was rewarded with a gift worthy of coming from a Mughal emperor. 'Bishan Das, the painter, was honoured with the gift of an elephant.'¹⁰³ It is not surprising that Bishan Das now specialized in portraits of the Shah. At least four of them are still in existence. A miniature in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston shows a scene which must have been flattering to his Indian patrons.¹⁰⁴ The Shah of Persia and the Indian ambassador are sitting like equals in a garden at a picnic party. Abbas honours his guest by offering him a cup of wine. Two miniatures in the Leningrad Album are likewise inscribed as works of Bishan Das.¹⁰⁵ One shows the Shah on horseback with a falcon on his fist, departing for the hunt, the other sitting under a baldachin in a garden and receiving a falcon from his chief falconer. All three miniatures agree in every detail of the face and of the dress with the sketch in the Vatican Library. Even the striped undergarment which becomes visible at the neck is the same. The conclusion becomes unavoidable that the drawing in the Vatican is the very sketch Bishan Das brought home from Persia and which enabled him to produce numbers of portraits of Abbas I. Even a certain dryness of the

¹⁰¹ Pencil, black and red ink has been used for the face and the turban.

¹⁰² On the diplomatic relations see C. C. Edwards, 'Relations of Shah Abbas the Great, of Persia, with the Mogul Emperors Akbar and Jahangir', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxxv, 1915, pp. 247-68; A. Rahim, *Mughal relations with Persia and Central Asia (Babur to Aurangzeb)*, Aligarh n.d. (reprinted from *Islamic Culture*, viiix, ix, 1934-35), pp. 24-44; E. Kühnel, 'Han 'Alam und die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Ġahangir und Schah Abbas', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xcvi, 1942, pp. 171-86; A. Ahmad,

Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment, 1964, pp. 34f. Of the gifts which Jahangir and Abbas exchanged there survives at Isfahan a Chinese porcelain bowl from the Hung-chih period (1488-1502), which bears an inscription of Jahangir (mentioned by J. A. Pope, *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, 1956, p. 56).

¹⁰³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 116f.

¹⁰⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, part vi, 1930, p. 46, pl. 35. Kühnel, *loc. cit.*, p. 181, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Ivanov, *loc. cit.*, pls. 15-16.

sketch seems to be characteristic of Bishan Das.¹⁰⁶ Modern critics would be less inclined to reward him with an elephant.

Under the remarkable events of the year 1620 Jahangir noted:¹⁰⁷

The Picture-gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbas.

The lean face with the enormous mustachios adorned not only the palace walls, it followed Jahangir even in his dreams. He dreamed that he and Abbas were standing on the globe in peaceful brotherly embrace, with a lion and a lamb under their feet. A court painter was ordered to paint the emperor's dream of peaceful co-existence together with a similar allegory of the two rulers sharing a common throne. The painter was tactful enough to give the Persian a slightly subordinate position.¹⁰⁸

Two full-length portraits of Abbas I in the Vatican Album (Pl. 31b) are practically identical and show that such portraits must have been turned out in fairly large numbers. Another version of the portrait, identical in every detail of the dress and the weapons, but to judge from the reproduction of superior workmanship, is found in an album with Mughal miniatures in the Gulistan (Pl. 31c).¹⁰⁹ An inscription states that it is the work of Bishan Das. It may well be the original, while the two replicas at Rome are only studio versions. A fourth version of the portrait is in the British Museum. It shows some alterations. Instead of the fur-trimmed head-dress which Abbas affects on the three preceding miniatures and on the equestrian portrait (Leningrad), he is shown with the customary turban. The pattern of the dress has been changed, and his right hand, instead of holding a musket, rests now in the belt (as on the sketch), but otherwise the miniature follows the outlines of the other ones.¹¹⁰

* * *

At first sight the contents of the Barberini Album seem to have little in common apart from the fact that they are all portraits. One soon notices, however, that they are for the most part sketches, miniatures which were left unfinished, or, in one case, a tracing which has been pricked for transfer; in short works of art which by their very nature would never have reached a patron or collector, but always been kept in the workshop of the artist. Even

¹⁰⁶ Coomaraswamy has put together a list of his signed works (*Artibus Asiae*, ii, 1927, pp. 283-90).

¹⁰⁷ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 161f.

¹⁰⁸ The two remarkable allegories in the Freer Gallery have been published with an excellent commentary by R. Ettinghausen, *Portraits of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American collections*, 1961, pls. 12-13.

¹⁰⁹ Y. A. Godard, 'Un album de portraits des princes timurides de l'Inde', *Athar-e Iran*, ii, 1937, p. 194, fig. 68 ('Le portrait est probablement celui de Shah Abbas I').

¹¹⁰ It was for some time believed to represent the grandson Shah Abbas the Second (1642-66); cf. E. G. Brown, *A history of Persian literature in modern times*, 1924, pl. facing p. 112. Now it is catalogued as a portrait of Abbas I. *Exhibition of Islamic art in India of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, London, British Museum, 1961 (reproduced from typewriting), no. 45 as 'probably by Bishandas during his residence in Persia with the Mughal Embassy between 1613 and 1619'.

the few finished miniatures are only seemingly exceptions. The identical portraits of Shah Abbas I were evidently an easily saleable article of which numbers were kept in stock. The genealogical tree of Jahangir would have remained in the studio once it had been copied and replaced by a new and more up-to-date version. So there remains only the lovely portrait of the young lady, and even this may have been kept back on account of its intimate character.

The golden age of Mughal painting was of short duration. Under Akbar Indian painting still followed the Persian tradition of illuminating literary manuscripts. It was only under Jahangir that miniatures were produced for their own sake, and no longer as book illustrations. Shah Jahan was as great a patron of the arts as his two predecessors, but he was mainly interested in architecture. Painting gradually lost its dominating position at the court. It must have been during these declining years that one of the painters was persuaded to sell to a European visitor a small parcel of sketches and discarded or unfinished miniatures which no longer served any useful purpose in the imperial studios.